20c JANUARY 26, 1953 THE COMMUNISTS' NEW LINE—page 13

New Republic

AFTER IKE'S INAUGURATION

OIL—THE GOP'S FIRST TEST

By Tom Fitzsimmons

THE ROLE OF OPPOSITION

An Editorial

Reviews by

Julian Huxley on
Darwin's *THE NEXT MILLION YEARS*

Paul Goodman on
Johnson's *CHARLES DICKENS*

JAN 2 2 1953
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Letters

What Are You Going To Do About It?

● Recently the Stevenson rooters here, feeling "a need for immediate and concerted action," organized into a group calling themselves the Grassrooters. I read about the Grassrooters and their aims in the local *Democratic Newsletter*, since they are affiliated with the Democratic Party in spirit if not in name, preferring to start from scratch rather than to join an organization which has existed for immediate and concerted political action for more than 150 years.

All over the country, men and women who got their first taste of political action during Governor Stevenson's campaign are staying in politics, but out of the political parties. Much of this aloofness springs from what might be called, for want of a better name, political snobbery. Apparently it is not quite respectable to go into politics, and the only way a respectable person can maintain his respectability is to make it clear to everyone that he is not a politician or, worse yet, a professional politician.

The members of these groups have the pleasant feeling of being active in politics without being contaminated. At the polls they select with what they feel is discrimination from the offerings of the two major political parties. But belonging to a political party seems to imply to an Independent that he has given up his right to make a choice. It is associated vaguely with ward heelers and voting the straight party ticket.

The Independent is in reality only a half citizen. Wisely though he may choose at the polls, he can by definition have little to do with determining the choice that is offered him. More often than not he finds himself in the position of Herblock's voter, asking, "Who shall I vote against this time?" Independents in aloof little groups like the Grassrooters can attend meetings and study the election code, can inform themselves on issues and candidates (all these things they plan to do), can even work to inform other people, can make wise choices at the polls—but when all is said and done, they will be able to choose only from what they are offered by the two major parties.

We must recognize the fact that the members of such groups as the Grassrooters do represent a really tremendous potential for political action. They are intelligent, well informed and willing to contribute time and money for the men and ideas they believe in. Although they have been brought together by common enthusiasm for one man, they recognize with him that "who leads us is less important than what leads us." They are concerned not merely with promoting Governor Stevenson's candidacy in 1956. Rather, they are concerned with promoting his political principles.

Governor Stevenson's supporters cannot afford to carry a "guest card" in the Party only at election time. Right now, out of power and virtually without voice in the press and on the air, it has in a sense gone underground. As a resistance movement of liberalism, it must stake its political life during the next four years almost entirely on a word-of-mouth campaign. The Grassrooters and others like them are needed, now, as full participating members of the Party.

If the Democratic Party is not completely to their liking, they should remember that a political party is only its members. In the next four years they can *become* the Democratic Party.

San Francisco, Calif. CONSTANCE REID

Keeping Stevenson Going

● It was a journalistic feat of the first order to obtain eight such outstanding Americans to write the letters to Stevenson, published in your issue of January 5. It is the highest possible tribute to Stevenson's greatness that his personality can win, in defeat, such ardent loyalty as is there expressed. . . .

Let each of us highly resolve to do all that we can along with the *New Republic*, to help our fellow-citizens to become increasingly aware of the indispensability to our country of the wisdom and greatness of Adlai E. Stevenson.

I too want to be counted as among those who eagerly desire to make monthly contributions for the four-year period, to enable us to hear the "Voice of Stevenson" by radio, that his leadership may steadily increase in the hearts and minds of all of us.

Spokane, Wash. BENJAMIN H. KIZER

● As another of your subscribers who, considering himself a liberal, voted for Eisenhower this time in the hope that the Republicans would, following a period of power, become a more responsible "opposition," I should like to add my name to the list of those who are willing to contribute to a fund to keep Adlai Stevenson's voice before the public.

Mr. Stevenson, the Democratic Party's most articulate spokesman, could do much toward keeping his group's opposition intelligent, liberal and loyal.

Menasha, Wis. JAMES AUER

● . . . I want to give financial support to whatever plan is adopted for Governor Stevenson's use. I feel with John Steinbeck (*NR*, Jan. 5) that he cannot let us go any more than we can let him go.

Bronx, N. Y. MRS. OLIVE W. ANDERSON

[The *New Republic* has returned contributions for a special Stevenson Fund sent in earlier with the suggestion that these donations be sent to the Democratic National Committee in Washington to help meet the campaign deficit. However, we will continue to list the names of those who write to us expressing a desire to contribute to a new Stevenson Fund if and when one is established at a later date. – THE EDITORS.]

Prof. and Mrs. Karl Bigelow, New York City; Mrs. Evelyn Blum, New York City; Annie Cowling, Galveston, Tex.; Mrs. Edwin E. Hamilton, Summerville, S. C.; Olivia Hamilton, Summerville, S. C.; Mrs. Eleanor Hays, New York City; Robert Jugo, New York City; Roy E. Knoop, South Norwalk, Conn.; Mrs. Mildred O'Brien, New York City; Esther Ravitz, Brooklyn, N. Y.; John Rosenquist, Tiverton, R. I.; Thomas J. Spinner Jr., Bethlehem, Pa.; Charles Stephen Jr., Greenwood, Mass.; Mrs. Nelle Zarof, Chicago, Ill.

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Smear Campaign?

Short, dark-haired Miss Parnis [Mamie Eisenhower's dressmaker] told editors that during the Presidential campaign there had been many queries about Mamie's dress size. "She's a size 12, although Democrats were saying she wore a 14," Mollie emphasized. – *From the Atlanta* Constitution.

The Bride—Beautiful?

The bride was graduated from the Department of Music at Nazareth College, Rochester, and is a member of the faculty at Fairport School, Fairport. The bridegroom is a pretty officer aboard the USS New Jersey. . . . – *From the Utica* Observer-Dispatch.

We're Glad That's Cleared Up

[Martin] Durkin is a little sensitive about the naïve remark attributed to him after the appointment was announced that "he guessed he would have to affiliate Republican now."

After all, one of his values to the incoming Administration is that he is a Democrat.

He feels he was misquoted. What he meant to say was that he would vote for Eisenhower next time. – *From the Washington* Evening Star.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

..CONTENTS FOR JAN. 26, 1953..

5 Opposition—The Fair Deal Legacy An Editorial

7 The Week:

7 Wicked Music

8 Dulles vs Dulles

8 Hardening the Dollar

9 Unequal Taxes Weaken France

10 Oil—First Test for the GOP by Tom Fitzsimmons

13 The New Line of the Communist Party, by Gus Tyler

15 Sinclair Weeks: Republican Oligarch, by John P. Mallan

17 Literature and the Arts:

17 Sir Charles Darwin, *Next Million Years*, by Julian Huxley

19 C. P. Cavafy, *Poems*, by Kimon Friar

20 Edgar Johnson, *Charles Dickens*, by Paul Goodman

21 Some New Singers, by R. Evett

22 A World of Order, by K. Lansner

22 Acting and Reciting, by E. Bentley

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WASHINGTON WIRE

EVERYBODY hoped and expected that Ike's Inaugural Address would be a fine one. But everybody knew by now, too, that Ike in his appointments was off to an appalling start. Ike had correlated "best brains" with business tycoons as the Army does. What this meant was shown in horrible caricature as General Motors chief Charles E. Wilson sought Senate confirmation as Secretary of Defense. The Senators' reactions were not one of antagonism but simple wonder.

How could the press tell the story? They were for Ike—80 percent; they were for GM advertising —1,000 percent. But everyone in Washington knew Wilson had talked to the interrogating committee on his first appearance like one conferring a favor. Wilson made Senators think of their own $12,500 salaries compared to the one he was giving up—$566,000. True, GM was continuing a retirement bonus that would total by 1957 $635,000 in cash and 1,800 shares of stock. As to the $2 million worth of GM stock Wilson already held, how could he sell it? It would involve heavy tax losses. There are some sacrifices a man can not make for his country.

Real bewilderment settled on Washington. Was this a cruel parody of government by millionaires? With Wilson were three other business tycoons. In the new, topsy-turvy world, Ike was everywhere acclaimed for picking the boss of the company with the biggest of all defense contracts to slash contracts; but wasn't it a bit, well, odd, for that boss to do this and still keep his GM connections? The law had been all right for Democrats—maybe it could be changed. The trouble was that the incident had dramatized the whole issue no matter what happened. As this column, almost alone, has pointed out, these able US business chiefs swarming into the new Administration seem innocent as children of the climate of political opinion and the atmosphere of American government.

Dulles, also, gave a foretaste of policy in answering Senators. David Lawrence, a friendly columnist, quoted him as promising Cold War policies "strong but not reckless" that will "end the peril without provoking a dying spasm of total violence." (It was this promise to "end the peril" that gave Ike millions of votes.) Dulles impatiently continued that those who argue that little can be done to liberate enslaved peoples "just don't know what they're talking about."

Here is the new dynamic policy that scares Europe and rejoices Henry Luce and the Scripps-Howard and Hearst press. The contrasting Acheson policy of patience and strength is denounced as "negative." One more warning about the "liberation" policy came on Inaugural Eve from George Kennan, America's outgoing top Russian expert. Its prospects of success are small, he said, and its danger great. But Dulles knows better: he leaves for Europe at once with Harold Stassen.

Moscow's growing attack on the Jews, meanwhile, of which the "doctors' plot" is the latest incredible, nightmarish example, makes many here wonder if the Soviet dictatorship is hurrying now to some terrifying climax. Persecution of the Jews is a landmark in the historic pattern of many European dictatorships which, when reached, shows insecurity at home and a possible willingness to menace all civilization.

McCarthy's Week: (a) Wrote menacing letter to Navy air official at Pentagon telling him not to discuss matter of McCarthy's Marine Corps medals; (b) saw an old enemy, Edward P. Morgan, former counsel of the Tydings subcommittee that investigated McCarthy, involved in an inquiry before the Senate committee which he (McCarthy) now

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heads; (c) warned Senator Hendrickson (R, N.J.), who signed the recent report attacking McCarthy, that he would campaign against him in 1954 when Hendrickson runs for re-election; (d) called George Kennan's farewell warning, directed against witch-hunts that might wreck the State Department, "a typical Acheson-type tirade against those who have been exposing traitors"; (e) prepared to ask the cowed Senate to double funds for his investigating committee.

We keep thinking about Eisenhower. We are all in the same boat with him now. There is the temptation to make partisan attacks, but what for, when we all stand or fall with him. There can be no doubt of his warmth, patriotism and good intentions. We followed Ike over America in the campaign. We heard him make that lovely, extemporaneous speech about his parents at Abilene, Kans., and thought we recognized him as the wistful exponent of a simpler and lost America. Then we heard him make campaign speeches filled with amazing clichés, contradictions and platitudes. They alienated many reporters. But for the life of us (and this is the thing that keeps striking us as funny), we aren't really sure about Ike. Is he a leader—of the kind we need so badly—or is he just a front? We have watched him and heard him, and honestly we don't know. It would have been of immense help if we could have had press conferences with Ike, under White House rules; he is the first President of modern times to take office without the precaution of this searching probing. Ike has never faced a hostile press conference in his life, so far as we know. Does he really know the score—or is he a well-meaning man entirely surrounded by people who know exactly what they want? Well, the whistle blows, the game starts and we don't know.

Notes: Ike's appointment of Harvard President Conant for Germany is the best he's made. . . . A million-and-a-half illegal Mexican "wetbacks" cross our border annually, the New York *Times* reports; they cut farm wages all the way to Chicago.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

Or Sough of Doves

● Mr. Bentley's suggestion *(NR,* Dec. 15) that words have no musical value apart from their sense astonishes me. I am reasonably certain that most poets and prose writers would agree with me.

I remind Mr. Bentley that the word "sonnet," nominative of the noblest verse form in our language, stems from the Latin for "sound." The poet's palette is a thorough arsenal of audio-aids. Rhyme, accent, assonance, consonance, alliteration, phonetic syzygy—all of these impel him to "searche the bottome of his braynes for apte words" rather than submit to the use of words equally sensible but less musical.

Tennyson could have said:

> Or sough of doves in ancient elms
> And buzzing of countless bees.

Instead he chose to sing:

> Or moan of doves in immemorial elms
> And murmur of innumerable bees.

Mr. Bentley should be severely punished for his defection. I suggest that he be made to repeat one thousand times the following lines, which Sidney Lanier created to sound as atrocious as possible:

> 'Tis May-day gay: wide-smiling skies shine bright,
> Through whose true blue cuckoos do woo anew
> The tender spring etc.

That'll fix him.

New York City EDWARD MILLER

Hard Money

● I do not know of any other objective of a policy of "hard money" (Henry Coates: "Will 'Hard Money' Mean Hard Times?" *NR,* Dec. 22) than the curbing of inflation or speeding of deflation. If Mr. Coates had in his mind a fear of deflation aggravated by the pursual of "hard money," he should have said so and stopped. For neither Republicans nor Democrats have disputed the desirability of high employment and stable prices; the argument of Mr. Coates then reduces to the possibility of the econmy heading toward recession.

But his arguments challenge "hard money" at any time: therefore, the creation of credit through monetary policy is itself inherently bad. . . .

After all his fears for farmers, laborers, small businessmen, and small bankers, Mr. Coates has still to recommend to us anything constructive against inflation (unless he is saying he likes it). "Hard money" remains the most useful weapon (given taxes) with which to combat it. No one has recommended that it be used against deflation.

Chicago, Ill. ROGER WEISS

● One of my primary observations was that indirect controls (monetary, credit and fiscal policies), applied at any time, seek to restrict demand, discourage investment and expansion of productive capacity thus frustrating the most effective means of combating inflation consistent with our "full employment" commitments. Indirect controls cannot combat inflation unless they are applied with such severity that the entire economy is restricted and deflated.

The problem of economic stability is not that of maintaining a stable price level. There is nothing more desirable in the 1939 price level than the 1952 price level. What causes trouble in an inflation is not that prices rise but that prices and incomes rise unevenly. "Hard money" actually contributes to this unevenness.

The short run answer to inflation is a controls program which would bring all related economic factors within balance.

Washington, D. C. HENRY COATES

The One-Party Press

● It would be well for many of us in this year of 1953 to make at least one resolution to show our active, and not merely tacit, support of Adlai Stevenson. All of us will agree, I believe, that much of our time during the recent election was spent in refuting and combating the insidious and irresponsible "One-Party Press." Its revolt against reason exemplified in its "egg-heading" policies, as well as its cajolement of business resulting in the most amazing "crystal-balling" antics and back-breaking positions in many a decade, make it more than apparent that our financial support of these "slicks" should be withdrawn immediately if we have not already done so.

San Francisco, Calif. JAMES E. BRODER

● Keep up your good work. If you could live in this state for one week and read our newspapers, you'd know then why I haunt the front door waiting for the mailman each Thursday!

Grand Rapids, Mich. BERYL RYPSTRA

Old Fogae?

● A year or so ago I wrote you a note protesting the phrase "an agenda," and you commented that the word "agendum" was "sunk." I find myself thinking about it, when I see in the New York *Times* Book Review section December 14 the phrase "a strata." There's only one more to look for, "a data." And then I'll begin to find "a bacillae," and I'll decide that I am really an old fogae.

Monrovia, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR

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OPPOSITION—THE FAIR DEAL LEGACY

PARALYZED AND drifting, America was turned over by the Republicans to Roosevelt. Truman turns back a nation striving to the utmost in a great task.

An unfinished task, and one the new Administration can not easily complete. "The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization," Roosevelt proclaimed in his first Inaugural Address. Now the coins are heard jingling in the temple again, to remind the liberals of their continuing responsibilities.

They are no longer the responsibilities of power; nor were they always in the last 20 years. During much of that time a conservative coalition held real power.

But if power was shared then, it is no longer shared. The new Administration has abandoned bipartisanship. We welcome its decision. For it acknowledges the acceptance of full responsibility by the Republicans, and leaves the opposition free.

Free, that is, to judge all issues on their merits, and to act. For act we must. The Old Guard was entrenched on the battlements of Capitol Hill before the parade of crusaders passed in review. The disparity between the commitments of the Eisenhower Administration to the voters and its commitments to power blocs within the Republican Party is startling and may become tragic unless all citizens join in finding preventatives rather than remedies.

So the role of independent citizens now is plain; it is to help Eisenhower to become a leader of all the people; to strengthen him when he falters; to resist him when he retreats; to replace him before he fails.

We assume no certain failures, but we do know that no longer will we be guarded in government by a restless energy, seeking out and striving to resolve inequities and weaknesses before they threaten us. And so Inauguration week is not too soon to ask these questions:

How far do the New Deal and the Fair Deal offer a basic philosophy of government that can guide us in the future?

How far do they bequeath to us sound ideas and established goals that can be extended into programs?

How far do they leave prepared programs that our task is simply to bring to completion?

How far must we think anew before we can act anew?

II. The Political Legacy

In accepting renomination, in 1936, Roosevelt reviewed the origin and nature of the New Deal:

> In 1776 we sought freedom from . . . the Eighteenth Century royalists. . . . It was to perpetuate their privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power. . . .
>
> Since that struggle man's inventive genius released new forces which reordered the lives of our people. . . . New kingdoms were built upon concentration of control over material things. Through new uses of corporations, banks and securities—all undreamed of by the fathers—the whole structure of modern life was impressed into this royal service. . . . A small group concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labor—other people's lives.
>
> . . . Against economic tyranny such as this, the American citizen could appeal only to the organized power of government. The collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was. The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it.

The New Deal was an effort to disperse political and economic power. The central theme of the Federalist papers that concentration of political power can destroy democracy, was also a central theme of the New Deal. "I plead," said Roosevelt in his first Inaugural Address, "not for class control but for a true concert of ideas." Six years later, in recommending legislation to Congress to curb monopolies he summarized his conviction.

> Unhappy events abroad have retaught us two simple truths about the liberty of a democratic people. The first truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself. That in essence is Fascism—ownership of government by an individual, by a group, or by any other controlling private power.

In the 14 years since then, despite all Truman's efforts, the concentration of economic and political power has advanced unchecked. The domination of a few corporate giants has increased under the mobilization program. The transfer of management over the major part of

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public contracts and expenditures to the military has further reduced the area of democratic review and control of national policy. The spreading insistence on an orthodoxy which divides Americans into conformists and heretics and identifies as heretics liberals and intellectuals generally places heavy pressures on independence of thought and freedom of speech. Free speech is further restricted as the small-town newspapers and magazines unsupported by business advertising decline and disappear. Higher education, the last sanctuary where independence and non-conformism are cherished, is threatened by financial insolvency. As our universities and colleges struggle against rising deficits, 29 states have passed legislation to encourage grants from business corporations. Officials of Standard Oil, US Steel and General Motors lead in proposals to subsidize education from corporate profits. The immediate benefits to the colleges should they succumb to dependence on corporate subsidies are tempting. The ultimate penalties are deadly, if the role of our schools and colleges becomes one of preparing young citizens to be the unthinking slaves of an unstable status quo.

There is finally the menace of McCarthyism. Without the constricting forces noted here, McCarthyism might be disregarded as a passing neurosis; given them, it may become the surface ideology of a permanent change that extinguishes the bold free spirit of America and, making free elections a formality engaged in by frightened men, replaces an administration by a regime.

At this moment Eisenhower is basing his Administration on one tiny sector, the leaders, spokesmen and captives of a handful of giant interlocking corporations. He issues a summons to service to every citizen in his Inaugural Address declaring that "no person, no home, no community can be beyond the reach of this call." That is proper, but while he seeks to enlist 100 percent of the American people he places their government in the hands of one hundredth of one percent.

Many are moderate men. Others, smarting from old humiliations or hungry for quick riches, bring an aggressive spirit. Most know that mistakes will be made. And the inevitable temptation will be for these men to use their corporate influence to circumscribe or silence critics among the columnists, commentators and newspapers. It will be further to pour huge sums into Minnesota, Illinois, Tennessee and other key areas to advance there in 1954 the work begun in North Carolina, Maryland, Florida, Utah and California in destroying liberal or moderate leadership. If this should happen none will suffer more in the long run than these privileged groups. For the greatest assurance of administrative success is the ordeal by fire of constructive criticism, and the best safeguard of evolutionary change is the liberal spirit which seeks to reform in order to preserve.

Without informed criticism or moderate opposition, mistakes may go unheeded and multiply, delaying but also magnifying ultimate failure. Then all private enterprise may be discredited because of its unique and total identification with the Administration. The integration of giant industry and government which Eisenhower is furthering will be continued if it reaches a point of no return, but it will be in a form very different and much less pleasing than that now contemplated.

III. The Economic Legacy

The Fair Deal bequeaths to Eisenhower a $350 billion economy and with it, the guiding principles in Keynesian economics, the permanent supports in social security and farm legislation, and the established directive, in the Full Employment Act, to help assure continuous growth. The conviction that we are the masters of our economic destiny, and not the beneficiaries or victims of immutable laws, is the central legacy of the last 20 years.

The legacy is under attack. Leading Republicans argue that our "war prosperity" is false and can not last. It must be followed—for the immutable laws so decree—by a correction, a recession, a return to "normal." "Personally," declares the chairman of Montgomery Ward, "I have been waiting for years for the axe to fall."

The axe has been held up by military expenditures. Sixty percent of the $25 billion spent by business on new plants and equipment since 1951 has been for defense orders and subsidized by accelerated amortization for tax purposes. Twenty-two percent of our gross national product represents government activity, as against 8 percent in 1929, and 15 percent in 1938. The government was granted authority to incur new obligations of $92 billion in 1952 and $80 billion in 1953. The 1954 figure will be $73 billion. Employment due to defense is now at peak levels, and by 1954 the peak expenditures will be passed. This slackening defense spending, as the armed forces go on a maintenance basis and the Mutual Security Program is cut back, will come on top of a slow decline in farm income and farm investment and in exports, particularly of farm produce. A Department of Commerce survey of large companies indicates that they have budgeted capital expenditures, in 1954, 15 percent below the 1952 rate, and in 1955, 20 percent below that rate. "These plans," the Council of Economic Advisers notes, "could move downward more rapidly in the face of unfavorable conditions." In its generally optimistic January report the Council includes: "Those trends challenge us even now to forestall events fraught with real dangers.

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To most Republican leaders the challenge is repugnant. The Republican commitment is, first, to institute a hard-money policy raising bank rates and mortgage rates and thereby discouraging new investment and new home construction.

The Republican commitment is, second, to cut expenditures. And while defense spending alone will continue at a rate of $50 billion a year until 1954, the prospect of cuts from then on will lead to reduction of new business investment.

The Republican commitment is, third, to shift the burden of taxation to low-income groups. Corporate profits are climbing back to peaks of $45 billion a year gross, and $20 billion a year after all taxes are paid. This year key corporate taxes are running out. The Excess Profits Tax expires on June 30. The last round of increased taxes on high personal incomes expires on the same day. The basic corporate tax rate, of 52 percent, is due to fall back to 47 percent on April 1, 1954. In a time of over-all deficits the first two sources yield $3.5 billion in revenues, and the third yields $3 billion. Yet as sophisticated a journal as *Fortune* argues that all three should die and be replaced by a "uniform sales tax of 5 to 6 percent on all consumer goods except food, medicine and those few luxuries that are traditionally more heavily taxed." This would be a further move toward deflation. *Fortune* denies it, arguing that "tax reductions will expand consumer and corporate incomes when defense spending declines." From these assumptions, depressions spring. Corporate profits do not create prosperity they result in part from high levels of purchasing power. And further, if taxes on consumers are cut as a response to downward economic trends, consumers will not spend more, but will attempt to save the earnings they retain in anticipation of still lower prices and future unemployment. The downward spiral may be checked by established programs of farm support, unemployment compensation, pension payments and excess-profits tax carrybacks. But, as the Council warns us:

> This new institutional apparatus is . . . certain only to retard a decline. If the basic deficiency of demand were large and nothing remedial were done, or if the traditional accelerators should begin to feed on a growing and then rampant deflationary psychology, eventually the stabilizers would prove to be feeble in proportion to the need and . . . "bottom" might turn out to be almost as far down as it used to be.

A new source of purchasing power will be needed by 1955 according to the Council, and "it is most unlikely that the bulk of it can be achieved in the form of additional private investment." What measures will be taken turn on the ability of liberals to hold the line on insistence on full employment. As the Council asserts:

> In our type of free economy, the attitudes of people throughout the nation are no less a controlling factor than laws upon the statute books. Our economic situation . . . will depend largely upon the prevailing sentiment now as to whether the maintenance of maximum employment is attainable . . . and worth the continuous effort which must be directed toward its attainment . . . its attainment depends not so much upon the accuracy of . . . forecasting . . . as it does upon the popular commitment to the goal.

The goal is set, the commitment is up to us. Judging solely from the Inaugural Address we can assume little more help from the President than cold clichés about the permanence of the Cold War.

THE WEEK

WICKED MUSIC

When Rep. Fred E. Busbey (R, Ill.) discovered that a work by Aaron Copland had been scheduled for inclusion in the Inaugural Concert of the National Symphony, he objected to its performance on the grounds that Copland had identified himself with Communist-front organizations. The performance was cancelled as soon as the charge was made, before it was investigated. If it had been looked into, it would have been found that Copland did allow his name to be used by such organizations as Jo Davidson's Artists for Roosevelt and other groups which would undoubtedly seem leftish to a rightist administration. The fact that Copland is a musician first and that he has brought international glory to American music seemingly carried no weight. The fact that the charge itself and the episode following it may put Copland's brilliant career into at least temporary eclipse is probably of very little interest to Representative Busbey to whom this is just a beginning.

Paul Hume, the music critic, called Busbey to tell him that Air Force bands and other tax-supported orchestras constantly play Copland's works. Hume thought to make the absurdity of the issue plain and end the matter. Instead Busbey professed surprise and shock. "We must look into that!" he cried.

Copland's unsympathetic attitude toward Communism is given a very clear, articulate statement in his new book *Music and Imagination*. But the fact that the charge is untrue or unfair is irrelevant. There is scarcely a major artist of Copland's generation who has not, at one time or another, signed or given his name to what, now, might seem a questionable petition.

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Arthur Miller and Jed Harris, chatting to a New York *Times* correspondent on their way to Wilmington to open Miller's new play, touched on this subject. Miller noted that Communist critics attacked his plays. He added, "If a man can't speak his heart he is robbing his art." To this Harris replied:

Art-schmart. That this should have to be said is a symbol of the times. Everybody says this is a great new age—the great new media of communications. It is really the saddest thing in the world. Because what has been done is to give the greatest possible distribution to the most grotesque lies, or to the stupidity of conventionally held opinion.

DULLES vs. DULLES

John Foster Dulles, the new Secretary of State, admitted to a Senate committee last week that his criticism of Democratic foreign policies during the Presidential campaign had been "extravagant." He even told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee members that he believed a political campaign was a time for each party to present its own case to the voters, and not the case of the opposition. Dulles declined the invitation to a new discussion of the political issues on the ground that it would "simply open old wounds."

Sens. Guy Gillette (Iowa) and Hubert Humphrey (Minn.) took the lead for the Democrats in confronting Dulles with what they described as discrepancies in his position before and during the campaign. The exchange that followed was almost completely ignored by the press as well as radio commentators covering the confirmation of Dulles as Secretary of State. Senator Gillette established for the record that Dulles had been instrumental in writing the foreign-policy plank of the Republican Platform, and then contrasted it with a foreign-policy speech Dulles had made while he was a member of the Senate in 1949.

Gillette said he was unable to reconcile the platform charge that there is "no Democratic foreign policy" with Dulles' Senate speech in which he took credit, "and rightfully," for full participation in the formulation of that foreign policy.

Dulles replied that he could reconcile the two statements, but that he would prefer not to do so. "I admit," he said, "that during the campaign more extravagant words were used than would be used in a period of judicial contemplation. But that is all over now, and I feel that between times we should get together and work together."

Dulles' remarks concerning the campaign were largely omitted, or buried, in the newspaper stories on the hearing, which concentrated on the new Secretary's views about his controversial "liberation" policy for the Iron Curtain countries.

For the most part Dulles was treated with far more respect and goodwill than former Secretary Acheson ever received at committee sessions on the hill. No one asked the new Secretary why he appointed Alger Hiss to head the Carnegie Endowment, nor did the committee members question his views on such pressing and controversial questions as the future of the Korean War and what plans, if any, the new Administration had for Chiang Kai-shek.

Asked what changes he intended to make in the State Department, Dulles said, "the first thing that is needed is a change of heart." But he later explained that he was not condemning all of the present programs, and added it was entirely possible that some, or perhaps all, of the Truman-Acheson programs would be continued under his leadership.

He wants to review them all, he said. And he promised:

"By the end of the year we either will come up with an entire set of fresh policies, or a fresh conviction that the present ones are the best that can be found."

His statements on trade barriers and on Point Four and his voting record as a Senator indicated what some of these "fresh policies" might be. In 1949 Dulles was instrumental in extending the Trade Agreements Act for two years instead of the three recommended by President Truman, and he shared responsibility for incorporating the "peril point" provision which has worked havoc with our efforts to increase world trade.

Dulles now says he will expect other nations to clear away their trade barriers if they want new tariff concessions from us. Since these barriers were measures taken in desperation to prevent the already frightening dollar gap from widening to ruinous proportions (and since they can in nowise be relaxed until the US lowers its tariffs, throws out the "peril point" provision, increases investment and guarantees minimum purchases of strategic materials abroad, and joins a realistic North Atlantic convertability system), it is next to impossible to divine the new Secretary's intention unless it is to insist upon increased purchases of US goods abroad while refusing to take the steps necessary to make such purchases possible.

Mr. Dulles also has plans for the Point Four program, which he approves of in the abstract but which he claims has deteriorated into a policy of "handouts." He wants it concentrated on technical developments (sic), and would have it carried out "largely through private enterprise."

Judging by these indications it seems far more likely that Dulles will come to the end of the year with "a fresh conviction that the present [policies] are sound," than with "an entire set of fresh policies."

HARDENING THE DOLLAR

Reliable sources reveal that Treasury Secretary Humphrey is ready to take the initial steps toward the "hard" or "tight" money policy so long advocated by the major investment and banking interests. Reportedly, he is planning to offer a new package plan to the holders of the $8.9 billion in government certificates which come due February 15, providing them a choice between long- (6 years) or short- (1 year) term issue.

Certificate holders—largely banks and insurance companies—have strongly urged that long-term issues would lead to "fiscal stability." Actually, there has been no instability under the short-term policy of Truman's Secretary John Snyder. A more truthful explanation for the demand for a longer term is that it would mean higher interest rates, frozen for a longer period, an attractive offering for the bond holders but a more costly operation for the taxpayers.

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UNEQUAL TAXES WEAKEN FRANCE

TAX REFORM in France is rather like the Millenium—awaited by men of good will, often predicted, ever hoped, even yearned for, but never arriving. Similarly, the repression of tax evasion is always an article of faith that somehow never becomes an article of law.

If France's political life is to make even a start toward the moral validity and the material soundness on which Europe's security must ultimately depend, the reform and the repression are needed now—during 1953—as perhaps never before. For without them, there is precious little chance of France's getting out of what the London *Observer* describes, without much exaggeration, as "the most critical position that the country has known since 1940."

The evils of the tax system are at the same time a cause, a symptom and a part of the larger problem of French stability. In many ways France is a house divided within and against itself. On no one of the major issues is there a clear majority of popular assent that can be fitted viably with the other majorities. The division on tax reform is the worst of all because France can not decide on where it is going, unless there is some justice and good sense in the allocation of the cost of getting there.

The idea, widely held abroad, that the French do not pay taxes is false. Their taxes are now the heaviest in the country's history and among the highest in the world. Most, however, are indirect. They hit the poor, therefore, more heavily than the rich; and they create an atmosphere of class war more effectively than anything the Communists can do by their propaganda and maneuvering. As for direct taxes, the story is worse. Big business manages to pay an infinitely smaller proportion than in the US and in Great Britain. The farmers and small businesses which still make up the greater part of the national economy evade even more of their share. Premier Antoine Pinay made a feeble effort to change this state of affairs; and it played a part in causing his downfall. The same was true of his predecessor, Premier Edgar Faure.

Communist propagandists say that in France only the industrial workers, civil-service employees, white-collar wage earners and small shop keepers really pay their direct taxes. It is excellent propaganda. For it has behind it the authority of the *rapporteur* of the Finance Committee. Speaking for a government of the Right, he used almost the same words in a statement to a public session of the National Assembly. The Secretary of State for Finance, also of the Right, provided facts and figures for the use of the CP's *Humanite* and *Ce Soir*.

The French probably hate paying direct taxes even more than other peoples. One of the reasons is an antiquated notion of the relation between the symbols of wealth and the process of producing wealth. Despite waves of inflation, the French still tend to accept money as such, rather than the work of the individual or the productive capacity of the factory or field, as the unit of economic value.

This is true to a remarkable extent of the workers themselves, even of the millions who support the Communist labor unions or who vote the Communist Party ticket. Socialism in France has lost nearly all of its mass basis partly because it has become a party of intellectual theoreticians. The Communists, on the other hand, hold the workers' support and votes at least partly because they make a specifically bourgeois appeal—to the suffering pocketbook. The CP confines its theorizing to saying that the workers produce the wealth. Then, addressing themselves to people who spend between 60 and 70 percent of their money for food and drink (which is the case throughout French society), their men in the locals and cells hammer at the fact that though there are enough *biftek*, *frites* and wine to go around for everyone, taxes take the wherewithal out of the workers' already low wages and leave the food and drink to the rich, the businessmen, the farmers.

It has become common for French political leaders to copy General de Gaulle's pronouncement that the Communists are "separatists." So they are, of course. Yet the same leaders are responsible for a different, and not less ugly separation. The split between the Frenchmen who profit and those who pay, results in large measure from the refusal of the politicians to take the risk of enforcing tax reform.

Without this separation, the Communist Party might not be the second largest in the Assembly and still the master of the labor movement. With it, the Communists are permitted, by default, to pose as the only defenders of the legitimate, practical, immediate interests of the workers. With it, moreover, the Gaullist Rally of the French People, the largest party, has become by stressing the "social justice" approach the Communists' only real competitor.

The existence in the Assembly of the Communists separatists and the Gaullist anti-separatists leaves the remaining majority unrepresentative of the whole French people. The "rump" Parliament, unable to find a sound, lasting basis; unable therefore to face urgent national problems effectively, declines steadily toward the moral corruption and the psychological isolation from the human realities of French life that, once before, in 1940, led to tragedy.

There are only two possible ways out. One is a revision of the Constitution, the other is sweeping tax reform now—before the doctrine of the long pull becomes the fact of the let-down. The first means taking the big chance with de Gaulle, finding out whether he really has dropped his dictatorial ambitions. The second means a risk, too: it is of finding out whether or not a democratically fair apportionment of the burdens of taxation can win back millions of Frenchmen from Communism. If the French politicians who profess to be democrats (and republicans) are honest, they should try tax reform first. If it fails, the meaning will be plain: French democracy will have failed, and de Gaulle will have the right to call for the use of *his* way of fighting Communism.

PERCY WINNER
Paris

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OIL—FIRST TEST FOR THE GOP

by Tom Fitzsimmons

THE EISENHOWER Administration has inherited what seems to be three pressing problems. They are one problem. And it is urgent. The new President must decide (a) to prosecute or drop the antitrust oil suits, (b) to support British ambitions in the Middle East or the national and economic aspirations of the people there, and (c) to implement or negate President Truman's transfer of the "Tidelands" to the Navy.

Two of these problems involve conflict between business interests and the public interests; all three share a common, prime essential—oil.

Oil is blood—life source of the world's immense industry-communication complex. And the oil-heart of the world is the Middle East. There, under the hunched might of the USSR, lies a virtually untouched reserve of over 200 billion barrels of rich black oil. The United States has a total of 32 billion barrels of known reserves, plus a possible 15 billion in the rape-threatened "tidelands."

Every day we use 7.5 million barrels of oil; we produce 6.5 million a day. The world's leading producer, we are nonetheless forced to import one million barrels of oil each day—some 360 million a year.

During the past six years we have spent over $25 billion to mechanize Western Europe's industry and its security forces. The result is that she requires a minimum of three million barrels of oil per day to meet her essential needs only, to improve her lot she needs still more. She produces less than 100,000 barrels a day.

Western Europe is utterly dependent upon Middle East oil. This situation probably contains an element of poetic justice; it unquestionably holds the gravest single threat to Western survival. For as we lost the masses of China we now stand to lose the resources of the Middle East. This is the reality that must be faced and changed, for there is as yet no substitute for oil, and a brief glance at the geographical distribution of oil reserves available to the West will convince that there is no substitute for the Middle East.

Although potentially rich in oil, Canada's known reserves stand at two billion barrels and her production at a rate barely sufficient to satisfy her own needs. Mexico and Venezuela have, perhaps 30 billion barrels of reserves between them, but Mexico produces but 211,000 barrels a day and Venezuela 1.8 million barrels.

Although new reserves will undoubtedly be discovered, past experience indicates they will be negated by increased demand. Twenty years ago the known reserves of the US were deemed sufficient for 14 years; today our known reserves have increased 60 percent, yet at *current* demand those reserves will last but 14 years. Given our need to import a million barrels a day and the needs of other Western Hemisphere nations which produce little or nothing yet are moving toward industrialization, this hemisphere stands without an exportable surplus.

Now let's look at the Middle East. In the immediate vicinity of Ghawar near Damman in Saudi Arabia there are from 15 to 17 billion barrels of known reserves. The entire state of Texas, our most prolific oil region, holds 18 billion barrels.

In the 65 miles between Ghawar and Haradh, where a new gusher has just been brought in, there are probably 65 billion barrels of reserves—more than twice the total of known reserves in the entire United States.

The area around Burghan is all but unexplored, yet some 20 billion barrels of reserves have been estimated, and the area probably holds at least 50 billion.

The average production per-day of US wells is 11 barrels; the average of Middle East wells, 7,000 a day. In Iraq, a new well at Kirkuk is producing a phenomenal 150,000 barrels a day—more than is produced in the whole of Western Europe. Kirkuk is only 500 miles from the Caspian Sea and Russia.

The Middle East then is as essential to the Western world as its farms, its cattle ranches, and its wheat fields. And the potential loss of it can probably be best understood by visualizing the entire US west of the Appalachians and the whole of Canada transformed into unproductive desert, and the present population of the US and Canada plus that of England forced to subsist upon the agricultural production of our East Coast.

Yet, in the vast arc curving from Athens to Cairo, Turkey is the last bulwark of Western strength. From the chaos of Iran to the question-mark of Egypt there is a power vacuum broken only by tiny Israel. Russia touches Turkey at its weakest point—the land of the Kurds—and shoulders Iran along a border hundreds of miles long. Obviously the vacuum cannot long endure.

The entire Middle East is seared by desperate human need and by a rampant nationalism—two forces Russia has long known how to exploit. More, there is hatred, deep, abiding hatred aimed, not at Russia, but at England. And in the Middle Eastern mind the US is more and more associated with England.

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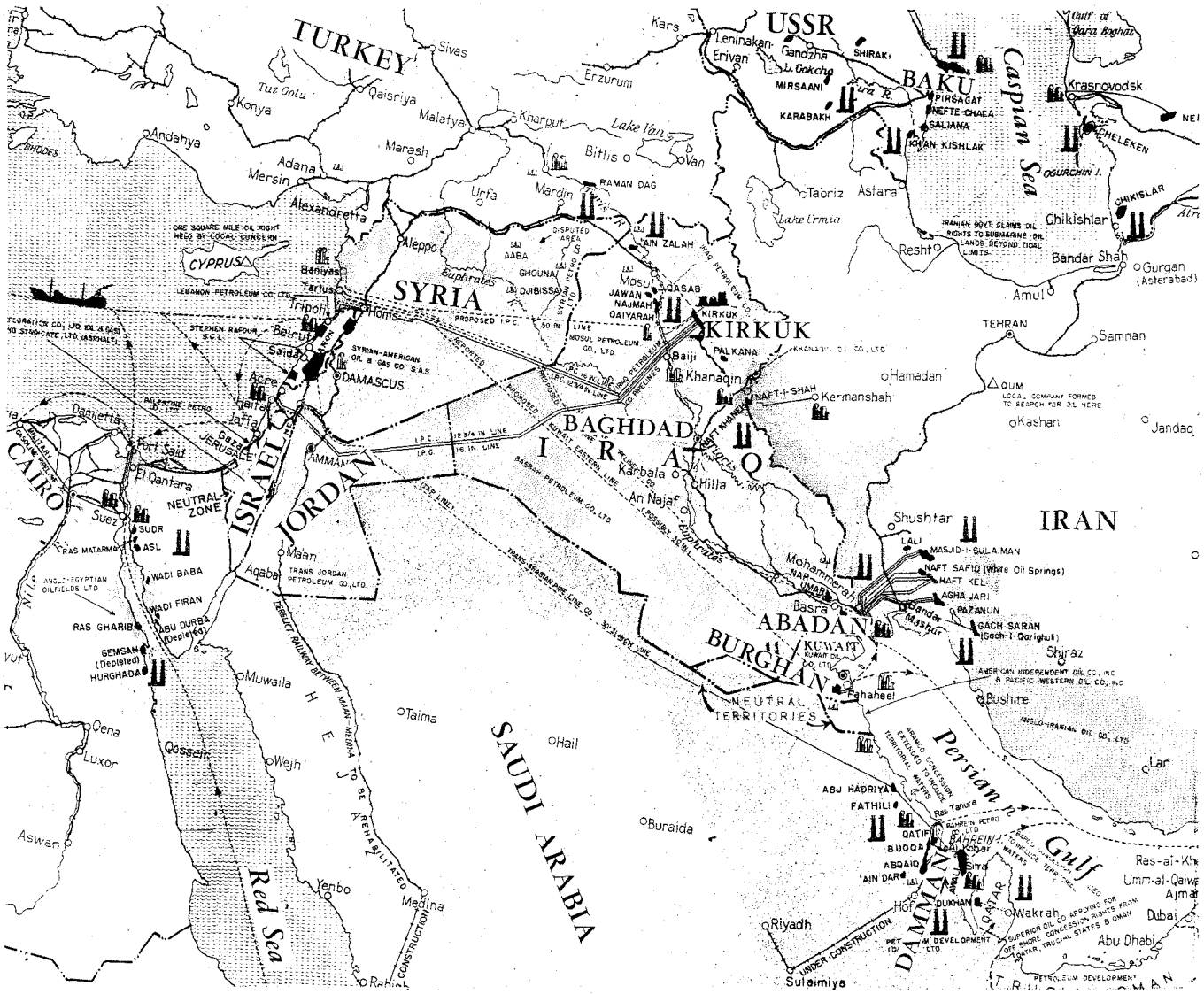
In Iran that hatred resulted in the loss of the Abadan refinery—largest in the world with a daily capacity of 650,000 barrels. Loss of oil revenue has hurled the country into economic ruin. Yet anyone who would suggest bringing back the British would be torn apart. Premier Mohammed Mossadegh must either resolve his difficulties with the West in a manner agreeable to his people or turn to Russia. If he fails in the former and rejects the latter, there are men eager to replace him—men who still believe they can use the Communists.

The readiness of Iranian National Front leaders to consider or feign co-operation with the Tudeh (Communist) Party was dramatically demonstrated last July when the Tudeh initially assumed leadership and effected a united front of all opposition to the appointment of Premier Ahmed Qavam. When Qavam pledged negotiation with the British, the hatred at the disposal of the Tudeh was revealed by three days of vicious rioting.

Because they were unable to command broad and strategic support sufficient to deceive or coerce the people into accepting their leadership, the Communists failed to exploit this opportunity to decisive advantage; but such support may easily result from a continued economic crisis resulting in governmental chaos. The Tudeh did succeed in greatly lowering the prestige of the Army and security forces—one of their main objectives—and further deterioration in morale could result in infiltration to the point of probable success for a Communist coup. The Tudeh Party is well-organized and will try to sabotage all reforms, resist American efforts to help, and co-operate with any gullible rightist elements to this end. They have already established an alliance with the followers of Ayatallah Kashani, a fanatic religious leader and the second strongest man in Iran.

November 22 saw the pattern repeated in Iraq. This time the usual election riots were carefully organized and directed. The US Information Office was burned and ransacked; the British Information Office attacked. During the riots large numbers of Iranian Communists were arrested. Truckloads of Communist literature brought over from Iran were confiscated.

Russia, then, is determined to fill the vacuum, and



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the nature of the vacuum supports her efforts. Geography is on her side, too. Abadan is only 600 miles from the Caspian Sea—a Russian lake—and Baku, capital of the most important oil fields in Russia, is but a step up the coast. There is a highway from Abadan to the Caspian; a pipeline could be laid along that road and be in operation in 18 months. And if there are still those who doubt Russia's ability to accomplish this type of project, they have but to remember the German scientists and engineers still in Russian hands.

Given these odds and the extreme difficulty of militarily defending this area without weakening ourselves dangerously elsewhere, couldn't we simply pull out, content in the knowledge that we could, through air power, deny Russia the use of Middle East oil?

Absolutely not. We *need* the oil far worse than does Russia. It is not a question of denying it to Russia but of securing it for ourselves.

If Western Europe were denied Middle East oil, we would be forced to send her three million barrels a day from our production of 6.5 million to maintain minimum operation of her economy. The result—every automobile in this country would be rationed off the roads; our industrial and communication efficiency would be hit hard, our ability to produce badly crippled. And, in case of war, there would be no assurance of our shipments being received. Our losses from submarine attack during World War II were enormous, and while there are no accurate figures on Russia's undersea strength she is thought to have surpassed that of Nazi Germany. With the Middle East sealed off she could concentrate upon our shipping until our allies were paralyzed by lack of fuel, then roll back the whole continent.

We must, then, guarantee that the Middle East, its people and its resources, will join the free world. How?

First, we must obviously guarantee and expand the investments and the organizations which will enable us to discover, pump and transport Middle East oil.

Secondly, we must establish and maintain those relations with the Middle East which will allow mutually beneficial exploitation of its resources.

Thirdly, since there is absolutely no guarantee that we will succeed in these first two efforts, we must safeguard and develop to the utmost those oil reserves we already possess.

Acting at the urgent request of the Departments of State and of Defense, and upon facts supplied by the Petroleum Administrator for Defense, President Truman has, in effect, called off his Administration's antitrust action against certain oil companies. The action was dropped because it endangered our national security.

Although the government fumbled and the companies behaved atrociously, the proceedings highlighted two key facts: (a) we must have Middle East oil, and only very large companies, often working together, can mount the terrifically expensive operations involved in getting it; and (b) the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 and the Clayton Act of 1914 were both written before such a world as we live in today, and our new role in world affairs could be imagined, and are inadequate to our present difficulties. We must now find a way to let certain companies in certain industries get big enough to do the job they must do, and yet control them in the public interest. They must not be allowed to abuse power given them by crisis nor must they be rendered impotent by antiquated laws.

In the Middle East we must conclusively demonstrate our sympathy for the aspirations of people too long exploited. Iran offers an opportunity. There, Premier Mossadegh is the only man with sufficient popular support to ally his country with the West. While he has at times seemed ridiculous, the historical context of his stand against England must be remembered. His case is excellent. The contract which England insists must be honored is a relic of another, piratical, era. Contracts similar to it have been thrown out of court in this country time and time again. England should be persuaded to allow the case to be tried by the International Court of Justice without attaching such prior conditions as would reduce such trial to mockery. Only by treating its people and its nations as equals before both legal and moral law will we win the allegiance of the Middle East.

As for safeguarding and developing such resources as we already possess, the issue is the "tidelands." They alone represent a 50-percent increase upon our present known reserves. President Truman has fought hard to keep them from the lobbies that buy and sell so many state legislatures. The same facts which caused him to turnabout in the antitrust action have caused him to sign them over to the Navy.

These, in general, are the policies that should be followed with respect to the Middle East and to oil. Will the new President choose these or other courses?

The positions assumed by Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. in the UN, and by John Foster Dulles toward Iran and England, will provide a clue. Although Eisenhower's action on the antitrust suits is a foregone conclusion, his action on tidelands oil will reveal whether or not he discarded those suits in a party-line, gravy-for-the-businessmen spirit or out of a realistic evaluation of the problems. If his decision is for plunder and waste in order to pay off campaign debts we are in for some very bad years indeed. His decision on these issues will tell us much about his calibre and that of his advisers.

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THE NEW LINE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

by Gus Tyler

THE COMMUNIST PARTY of the USA has a new tactical line for 1953. Translated into simple and ultimate language, the new line consists of two directives:

1. Liquidate the Progressive Party;
2. Infiltrate non-Communist and anti-Communist organizations—from Left to Right.

The new line is spelled out in the Draft Resolution of the National Committee, CPUSA submitted to the party membership on December 28, 1952.

The prelude to the "new line" is the ritualistic confessional, the chest-beating "self-criticism." The central theme of the confession is the realization that "the Progressive Party . . . is not and can not be a major vehicle in the emergence of a mass people's party led by labor." The CP now admits—as its first error—that "it was incorrect to have favored the departure of the Wallace forces without masses from the Democratic Party." The Communist estimate of the political situation in 1948 also "erroneously ignored the fact that in mid-twentieth-century America there could not emerge a great new mass party as against the two parties of Wall Street, until the labor movement, at least its decisive sections, had been broken from the two-party system, particularly the Democratic Party." In short, the first error of the CP was to organize a "mass party" without "the masses."

The second error of the Communist Party was not to admit the first error. "The 1948 election results made painfully clear that we had been incorrect in our estimate of the mood of the masses," says the National Committee in December, 1952. "Had we stopped and re-examined our thinking and brought our conclusions to the Party, much confusion and many mistakes could have been avoided. We did not do this."

And because the Communist Party leadership "did not do this," (it is silently assumed that no rank-and-filer would dare raise the question on his own) the Communists entered the 1952 campaign with "a rigid third-party line that had no sound foundation in the existing alignment of forces and mass trends," thereby triply compounding the original sin of launching the Progressive Party as the "mass people's party."

Why, one wonders, all this masochistic self-criticism after four years of bland self-congratulation?

The first key to the party's new line is the sad plight in which the American Communists find themselves four years after the great campaign of the Progressive Party. The PP is a dead-end alley with fewer and fewer party members and fellow-travelers ready to spend the rest of their lives insisting that a cul de sac is the stairway to the stars. In the summer of 1948, the Progressive Party people were counting their probable vote in the fives and tens of millions; by November, 1948, the real count was a million; by November, 1952, it was 140,000. Simultaneously, the Communists lost influence in non-party "mass organizations." In union after union, they saw former comrades or comrades of comrades turn against them, drive them from office, expel them. This culminated in the mass expulsion of Communist-led unions from the CIO.

For a while, the Communists hoped to duplicate on the non-political level what they claimed to be doing on the political level through the Progressive Party; namely, construct "independent" mass movements around a CP solar system. The CP played around with manufactured peace movements, student movements, veteran movements, and even a third federation of labor, but these multiple movements—even when they were concealed as local ad-hoc quickies—merely served to identify the Communists and their fellow-travelers and to drive them into further isolation.

Although the Communists have, by their latest admission been their own worst enemies, their present unsplendid isolation is not purely of their own doing: they have had assistance. In the anguish of their political solitary confinement, the Communists cry out against the leaders of labor and liberalism, the prime culprits for letting the Communists go down their ever lonelier road —sans masses.

"Support of the prowar measures of the Truman Administration; acceptance of the Big Lie of the external and internal Communist menace disarmed the workers, blocked the path to independent action by labor and its allies and paved the way for a Republican victory," proclaims the Draft Resolution. "The major responsibility for this policy and its consequences rests squarely with the reformist and Social Democratic trade union officialdom. This was the content of the policies of the Reuthers, Dubinskys, Wechslers, et al, who paralyzed independent political action by projecting the myth that Stevenson was an obstacle to the advance of reaction."

Railing against Reuther (President of the CIO), against Dubinsky (President of the International Ladies'

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Garment Workers', AFL), against Wechsler (Editor of the New York *Post*), et al, including Stevenson, can not allay the lonely heart of the Communist Party, however.

Out of their almost total isolation issued the new tactic: infiltrate the non-Communist organizations! Marked for early infiltration are the Democratic Party, the CIO's Political Action Committee, the AFL's Labor's League for Political Education, the Americans for Democratic Action, the New York Liberal Party, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Since all these organizations are left-of-center, the right-of-center press has, already, begun to gloat over the new and open decision of the CP to infiltrate the aforementioned. Reactionary commentators, however, should hold their glee in check until they read the full resolution, which, apparently, they have not. The Draft Resolution does not limit its efforts to liberal America, but declares: "We must also associate ourselves with the many millions who voted for Eisenhower primarily because of their peace aspirations."

The notion of Communist infiltration of "rightist" organizations may sound incredible until one recalls that for many years, the Communists of Italy worked within the Fascist Party of Mussolini in an attempt to swing Italy into the collective-security axis. More important, however, is the fact that in present-day America, the foreign policy of the Communists is more in line with economy-minded isolationism than with liberal internationalism. In the Popular Front period, when American liberals were seeking collective security against Hitler, it was natural for the Communists to seek their primary allies in left-of-center circles, although even then they never insisted upon such a narrow gauge. In the present period, when the economy-minded isolationist in the US is Stalin's best hope, it is not at all unnatural for the Communists to seek a major operational base in right-of-center circles.

The Draft Resolution even establishes a theoretical base for such an operation. According to the "new line," monopoly capitalism in the United States is divided into two camps: (a) the Truman-Eisenhower-Dulles group momentarily on top; (b) the Taft-Hoover-MacArthur group momentarily in second slot.

According to current Communist mythos, "the Truman-Eisenhower-Dulles" faction of monopoly capitalism has a viewpoint "founded on the perspective of an anti-Soviet war as its central and *first* objective." The "Taft-Hoover-MacArthur trend also pursues world domination and war against the Soviet Union *but* it seeks at this stage the full subjugation of the capitalist world by an unrestrained offensive against its capitalist rivals, *in the first place Britain and France.*"

Here, then, is the Communist view of the difference between the two sections of monopoly capitalism: the T-E-D faction wants an early war with the Soviet Union; the T-H-MacA faction wants a war with Britain and France *first*. As between the two, for whom do you suppose the Communists are rooting?

The Draft Resolution believes that the Taft trend is gaining ground. "As the body of the Truman-Eisenhower-Dulles policies based on an early anti-Soviet war flounders on the growing difficulties in Europe and Asia, the tendency is for growing support in the ranks of monopoly capital to the Taft-Hoover-MacArthur trend."

Although the Communists reject the ultimate aims of both monopoly-capitalist factions, the CP does not intend to remain neutral in the immediate scrap between the two factions of the "ruling class." They intend to exploit the "division in the ranks of monopoly capital over the question of feasibility of early war with the Soviet Union" and to take advantage of the "rapid sharpening of the intra-imperialist contradictions."

The difficulty of working with the left-of-center organizations, on one hand, and within the isolationist Taft-Hoover-MacArthur circles, on the other hand, would be insurmountable for any ordinary political party. But the CP is not a political party; it is a foreign agent on a mission, equipped with a staff of obedient subordinates, one half of whom operate in a reasonably public manner and the other half of whom operate in total darkness.

For the obedient readers of *The Daily Worker* it suffices to give the directive to work by worming into the Democratic Party, the ADA, the Liberal Party, etc., and there take up the cudgels for the FEPC, Taft-Hartley repeal, a cease-fire in Korea, etc. For the more decisive apparatus—the underground operative—there is more decisive work: boring from within the right wing and ruling wing of America.

The Taft-Hoover-MacArthur culture is perfect for the Communist virus. Here the Communist could tell how stupid it would be to pick a fight with the Soviet Union *now*. Here the Communist could denounce those vile imperialists, Britain and France, could assail that wasteful military budget arising from the fighting in Korea and demand military economy. And as he gains the confidence of some of his isolationist-anti-British-budget-cutting cronies, he might even get a job in Washington, perhaps even in the State Department to keep his eye on that Russia-Hating Dulles. And just to keep his social contacts well-lubricated, he might occasionally whisper about some anti-Semitic joke or rumor, without feeling that he has in any way compromised his Communist conscience.

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The "new line" of the Communist Party will pose a paradox in the American community:

The Communists will seek to infiltrate liberal circles in order to *challenge* the immediate policies of the liberal leadership. They will infiltrate isolationist circles in order to *agree* with the policies of the isolationist leadership.

The Communists will be rather readily spotted in the liberal circles, after they go through a sleeper period, because they will advance a line at variance with current liberal foreign policy. But how will they be spotted in isolationist circles?

Liberal organizations would do well to alert themselves immediately and set up machinery to check Communist penetration and expose phony united front pleas. Reactionary organizations might do well to learn that it takes more than the liturgy of loud red ranting to exorcise the devil of Communism from your own house!

SINCLAIR WEEKS: REPUBLICAN OLIGARCH

by John P. Mallon

IN THE NEW Eisenhower cabinet, the only leaders with real political experience are Attorney-General Herbert Brownell and Sinclair Weeks, the new Secretary of Commerce. Brownell's long activity as a Dewey partisan is well enough known; but Weeks, who has had far more national and local political experience than either Brownell or Sherman Adams, has remained a relatively obscure figure both in Washington and in his native state of Massachusetts. It may very well be to Weeks that Ike looks for political advice, as he apparently will look to America's giant corporations for advice on all other subjects.

What sort of man is Weeks? When he was appointed to the Cabinet, the Boston newspapers found very little to say about him—though he is a banker and industrialist, member of a prominent Bay State family, son of a United States Senator and an interim Senator himself from the state. Furthermore, it is quite likely that a good majority of Massachusetts citizens, Democrats and Republicans alike, scarcely know the man's name. Yet for at least 20 years Weeks has been the most powerful single Republican in the state, and for 10 years he has been a leading national figure. His political career, in fact, is a case study in Republican politics—a study in gentility and oligarchy.

There are many studies of the picturesque Democratic city bosses of America; the Curleys, Hagues, Tammany leaders and others have become routine subjects for political biographies little improved upon since Lincoln Steffens. But very little is really known about the politics of the suburb and small town—the quiet, unobtrusive, but hard-headed manipulations which characterize the leadership of the Republican Party. The Republicans seek after power in ways often as ruthless as the urban Democrats; but they have been able to veil their operations in such a semblance of well-bred discretion that an occasional lapse from privacy, like the "Hanley letter" affair in New York, or the disclosure of Richard Nixon's special funds, seems to embarrass their opponents as much as themselves.

Sinclair Weeks was born in the prosperous Boston suburb of Newton in 1893. His father, John Wingate Weeks, himself a banker and businessman, became mayor of Newton, United States Senator, then Secretary of War under Harding and Coolidge. He received 105 votes for the Republican nomination for President in 1916. Sinclair Weeks went to Harvard; then he, too, went into banking and manufacturing, became alderman and mayor in Newton, then chairman of the Republican State Committee and chief-money raiser in the 1930s, finally a member of the GOP National Committee in 1940. For most of the past 12 years, he has served as national treasurer of the Republican Party as well.

His annual income runs into six figures; he is chairman of the board of one of the largest silversmithing firms in the country, and a director of such varying interests as the First National Bank of Boston, the Pullman Company, a large textile firm, and Gillette Safety Razors. He has also served as a key leader in the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, local NAM affiliate, and is a director of the NAM itself and president of another big-business group, the American Enterprise Association. Yet Weeks himself is in no way a major business figure.

Nor is his primary forte elective politics; since leaving the mayoralty post in 1936, he has run unsuccessfully for US Senator in the Republican state convention of that year—where he was defeated by young Henry Cabot Lodge—and also served a term of 11 months in the Senate in 1944, by appointment of then Governor Leverett Saltonstall, who himself ran for the seat that fall. Otherwise, he has not sought elective office.

Weeks' special talent lies in his ability to act as an intermediary between big business and the Republican

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Party. To businessmen, he is a man of astute political judgment, who knows how to run a campaign well and economically; to the party, his fund-raising abilities have been indispensable. Weeks is an organization man par excellence; it is for this reason perhaps that the local papers are embarrassed to discuss his activities. In personality and even appearance, he gives the impression of the heavy-handed, self-assured, unimaginative and highly competent party boss.

In Massachusetts, at least, Weeks has exacted a price for his ability to raise money and spend it well. The state Republican organization has been for years a paternalistic oligarchy almost as tightly controlled as Byrd's Democratic Party in Virginia. The ladder of advancement in the state GOP is known to all, and in fact openly defended by many party leaders; Weeks, more than any other man, has decided who will be promoted to higher office.

Thus, an examination of the careers of the last 11 Republican governors and gubernatorial candidates reveals that nine of them were first lieutenant-governors and another a candidate for the office; the exception is the newly elected Christian Herter, who took the unorthodox road of 10 years in Congress and might have lost the nomination because of it. What is more, eight of these 11 men first served either as president of the state Senate or speaker of the state House. Political mavericks have been frowned upon in the Massachusetts GOP; in most cases, the party leadership has been able to present the "right" candidate in the primaries, and to avoid the wild free-for-alls of the Massachusetts Democratic party, and the parties of many other states.

This system has meant that Weeks and his lieutenants have had to make some ruthless decisions, and foreshorten a number of political careers; there is every evidence, however, that the decisions have been made in most cases with regard for the interests of the "state," at least as its largest businessmen see them, and that Weeks, rather than trying to advance his own ambitions, has succeeded very well in remaining in the background. The system has brought Massachusetts some outstanding Governors, like Leverett Saltonstall—though it is noteworthy that party regularity has also led Weeks to back some incredible dullards, like the 1950 candidate, Arthur Coolidge, a dead ringer for his distant cousin, Calvin.

The defeat of Weeks-supported candidates in 1948 and 1950 by the then-powerful Democratic organization led to some Republican disillusionment with his leadership; but this year Weeks almost single-handedly forced the nomination for Governor of blue-blood Christian Herter of Newton, himself a former speaker of the state House but relatively unknown because of his years in Washington. The party rank and file almost certainly preferred a newcomer, Sumner Whittier, who was barely defeated at the state pre-primary convention in June; sources from both parties agree that Whittier did not press his attempt only because he was told he would get no funds for his campaign if he did. Whittier was told to wait his turn, after the more experienced Herter; he has now been elected lieutenant-governor and will undoubtedly receive his just reward for loyalty in time.

It can be assumed that Weeks would defend his role in the party without embarrassment; that he sees the party—and the government—as million-dollar business enterprises, which should be run by skilled managers and not by brash youngsters. On the national scene, we can assume that Weeks will offer the same kind of enlightened paternalism, to the extent of his influence in the party. While Weeks shares the attitudes of big business and the NAM, and is never thought to be as liberal as Lodge or even Saltonstall, there is no question of the sincerity of his belief that the interests of business and the country are identical. His particular offices in textile or railroad corporations—which he has announced he will resign, as Secretary of Commerce—are not likely to influence him as much as the over-all philosophy of the financial world in which he has been such an active participant.

Weeks is almost a perfect synthesis of the qualities of both businessman and politico—he lacks only a colorful personality and ambitions of his own to be an even more important figure. But the extent of his control over the party, and the control of men like him, is not due alone to his own abilities or to the silence of most of the press about Republican internal affairs. Rather, his influence reflects the attitudes of the average, small-town Republican leaders whom Robert Allen and William Shannon have described so well in *Our Sovereign State*—the Grange-Masons-and-church-supper Republicans who like their archetype Calvin Coolidge have little money and power themselves but great respect for those who have it.

It is fairly customary to have a businessman as Secretary of Commerce, and Weeks will hardly stand out in a cabinet representing half the corporate wealth in America. He has announced only that he will use the Department to help create a "favorable climate" for business, and this is scarcely surprising either. Commerce is almost as weak a government department as Labor; but Weeks' real influence with Eisenhower, as a man able to move with authority between the party and its financial supporters, may well be far greater.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE FUTURE OF SPECIES AND OF MAN

by Julian Huxley

IN THIS BOOK, Sir Charles Darwin approaches the subject of man's future from the standpoint of classical physics, attempting to extract general laws from a mass of chaotic events, but combining this with the use of the deductive principle of natural selection, so fruitfully initiated by his grandfather.

He begins by treating of mankind and its basic problem of population in the same way as a physicist deals with a subject such as the pressure of a gas. The individual differences between gas molecules in speed and type of collision are enormous; but they are irrelevant to the pressure, which is an average resultant, determined primarily by the size of the container, the nature of gaseous molecules in general, and the temperature. So with human populations. They tend to increase geometrically; they are limited by the size of their container, the earth's surface; their individual components share a common human nature, and the differences between them cancel out in the average; and the result is a pressure on the food supply, creating thus a "starving margin" of people as its normal accompaniment.

THE NEXT MILLION YEARS, by Sir Charles Darwin (Doubleday; $2.75).

Some will say that our author is too dogmatic in this restatement of Malthus's thesis, but the fact remains that population has tended to increase geometrically, by compound interest, during human history and pre-history. What is more, the actual rate of increase is increasing. In pre-historic times it cannot have reached one-tenth of one percent per annum; now it is almost one percent.

The author maintains that the enormous simultaneous increase in property and population during the last century or so was a temporary (and local) accident, made possible by the application of science in combination with the opening up of new countries.

In his view, there have been four great irreversible revolutions in history, each of which has made it possible to support a much larger population—the discovery of fire, (though here the purist will point out that this occurred long before the origin of our own species, *Homo sapiens)*; agriculture; the urban revolution, enabling men to live in cities and build civilizations; and the scientific revolution, in which we are still living.

The extent of the habitable world is now known, and the limits of its productivity can be roughly calculated. Darwin estimates that, even with radically new methods of producing food and generating energy, the total number of human beings can never exceed 3 to 5 times the present figure—say about 10 billion as a maximum. What is more, he asserts that the world's population will always contain a "starving margin," large numbers of people doomed to die of famine or malnutrition.

Sir Charles maintains that, that even with improved methods of birth control, it will never be possible to stabilize the total human population at a point where it will not press on food-supply or resources; for the more rapidly growing nations or groups will, he believes, inevitably overflow less crowded areas of the world.

As regards energy, we are largely living on accumulated capital, in the shape of coal and oil; within a matter of centuries, the capital will be gone, and we shall have to live on income. It is a sobering reflection that whatever new sources of energy our descendants are able to exploit, from solar radiation to tides and winds and atomic energy, and however efficiently they exploit them, the amount per capita is likely to be considerably less than in present-day America or Britain, while the total fraction of the world's population engaged in coping with the world's energy demands will be far greater than all the miners and power-station workers today. Water power is likely to be the main source of energy-income, and if so, mountainous areas will be economically dominant regions of the world.

There is a curious discussion as to whether man is a wild or a tame species. For our author, a tame animal is one which does the will of a master, and the process of domestication implies some sort of systematic control of breeding. Man could not become a domesticated species, because this would demand, if not a dictator, then a directing group, and this directing group would have to remain "wild" in Darwin's sense—a "master breed." This, he maintains, rules out the possibility of an effective eugenic policy, as the master breed cannot control its own breeding.

He draws the further conclusion that human evolution will proceed slowly, instead of rapidly as in domesticated animals, where specialized breeds are created in a few thousand years at most. This, by the way, explains the title of the book; a million years is, according to him, the average time for the evolution of a new wild species, and therefore the period during which human nature can be taken as remaining constant.

Thus Darwin's general prophecy is that, in the course of a few tens of thousands of years at the outside, the world will settle into a state of high population density, with moderate economic standards, a "margin" subject to periodic starvation, and less respect for the sanctity of individual life. On this broad pattern, there will be superimposed temporary or partial "golden ages," during which new discoveries or local advantages would permit periods of higher prosperity and intellectual and artistic efflorescence.

Civilization is not likely to destroy itself by war, since efficiency in war is

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now bound up with a high level of civilization based on science. The one major danger would be the discovery of how to release the intra-atomic energy of hydrogen, with which human irresponsibility might too readily explode the entire planet.

In general he is concerned with determining the broad limits of what is possible to the human species on this earth. Here he draws a comparison with mechanical science. Once it had been shown that a perpetual motion machine was impossible, engineers could concentrate on improving other types of machines. In the case of man, biology has already shown that inheritance of acquired characters is impossible; Darwin attempts to define other limits of possibility—of population control, average prosperity, eugenic improvement and the like. Then, he suggests, men may settle down to intensive research on how to make the best of what remains between those limits, instead of wasting their time and energy on Utopian impossibilities.

It would be easy to criticize Sir Charles in detail. Thus, in his chapter on the Pursuit of Happiness he apparently equates *happiness*, *joy*, *contentment*, and *cheerfulness*, and pays no attention to the *satisfaction* that springs from free but disciplined activity, physical and mental; in general, he betrays little awareness of modern psychology, individual or social. Again, his genetics is largely the genetics of a generation ago, with the assumption of one-to-one correspondence of gene and character, and an emphasis on the role of single mutations rather than on favorable new recombinations; and his statement that "even without mutation, there is a tendency to degenerate" is contrary to modern knowledge. *Science* for him appears to be limited to the physical and biological sciences: he nowhere discusses the importance of the social sciences. When he writes "if the only things that a government were required to do were what everybody, or nearly everybody, wanted, there would be no need for the government to exist at all, because the things would be done anyhow," he ignores the elementary facts about the working of society. In claiming that science is necessarily international, he omits to mention Soviet genetics. And why does he omit *writing* from the list of man's revolutionary achievements?

But the main criticism of his book is that he has failed to take into account the unique qualities of man. Man, in respect of his structure and physiology, is only a single species; but in respect of his method of evolution, he is a wholly new kind of creature, meriting a Phylum or even a Kingdom all to himself.

Sir Charles does of course mention the fact that man possesses "a new kind of heredity," operating by the transmission of ideas and traditions; but he does so incidentally, without following out its implications. Chief among these is the fact that man has passed out of the purely biological phase of evolution into a psycho-social phase, in which the self-perpetuating and self-transforming units are communities, with systems of ideas (in the broad sense) among their most important organs. More and better organized knowledge is the most potent of these psycho-social organs; but emotionally charged ideas and beliefs are equally essential.

As a result, man is the only new dominant type in evolution which is exempt from diverging into a large number of genetically discontinuous lines: he evolves as a single inter-breeding unit. The idea that the rate of gentic change is necessarily similar in man and in animal species is quite unjustified; the method of change is totally different. Even more important, man is the only organism which creates its own artificial environment—physical, social and mental.

In the light of these facts, Sir Charles' point about the impossibility of eugenics falls to the ground. Man is neither "wild" nor "domestic"; he is a self-socializing organism, constantly adjusting his mode of life to the new artificial environment he is creating. In so far as he has a master, that master is himself, as crystallized out of his ideas, institutions and beliefs. I have no doubt that eugenic improvement could be successfully undertaken, once there was general realization of the amount of frustration and suffering and waste that it would obviate. But I have equally no doubt that this will be a long time hence. The problem of eugenics will not become urgent until a reasonable equality of physiological and social opportunity has revealed the extent and importance of genetic inequality; and until new techniques, such as artificial insemination, have become socially acceptable.

Sir Charles has done valuable service in pointing to population growth as the basic problem of the next phase of history. But once more, his pessimistic view that it can never be controlled and regulated is surely unjustified. As he rightly points out, man, like any other organism, tends to reproduce in a geometric ratio. But the ratio may be either greater or less than unity. There seems no reason to suppose that suitable measures could not be devised which would lead to a regulation of the ratio within a small margin on either side of unity—high rates of allowance for the first 2 or 3 children, no allowance for further children would be a possible device; and this would result in a reasonably stable population.

Already governments, such as India, have recognized the need for some control of human reproduction; already we are on the verge of discovering cheap and fool-proof contraceptives which could be effective even in large and illiterate populations. I anticipate that population policies will be in effective operation within the next few generations. Sir Charles assumes that size of population would always be an advantage to a nation; but an optimum-sized population would enjoy an advantage over a larger one burdened with a "starving margin."

Here again, we must remember that man is an organism constantly transforming itself with the aid of increasing knowledge and increasingly conscious purpose. The regulation of population is in part a strictly scientific problem, demanding technical knowledge and research. It is also a social problem, involving a question of values. Accordingly it needs to be attacked within the framework of a *Weltanschauung*, a system of ideas which includes values in its picture of the world. The accumulation

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of knowledge, in the natural and social sciences and the humanities, is beginning to give us such a picture. The picture reveals man as the agent for further progressive evolution on earth, while the realization of more possibilities by and for more individuals is seen as the most ultimate aim we can envisage for that further evolution. The establishment of such a picture has many important implications—for population policy, for the relation between individual and State, for the rejection of authoritarianism, (whether in Communism or in orthodox religion or anywhere else), for the working out of new humanist creeds and ideologies, for the importance of free creative activities, and, not least, for a new assessment of what we mean by *"human nature."*

"Human nature" is essentially a dangerous, because an ambiguous, term. It can be used to denote the genetic outfit of the human species, in which case it can properly be assumed to have remained little changed since the first appearance of *Homo sapiens*. Or it can be used to denote effective human nature—the human species as an operative agent in the process of history, which is itself part of the natural process of evolutionary transformation. And effective human nature does most definitely change. Man, regarded as a natural phenomenon, is as radically different in the present technological age from what he was in the neolithic as a vertebrate is from a worm. During the last ten thousand years, the human species has developed entirely new organs, which entirely alter both the way its component individuals behave, its impact as a species on its environment, and its capacity to control its own future.

Sir Charles's failure to realize this, and his assumption that human nature is a constant, vitiate his more pessimistic conclusions. Once man has grasped that he himself is the one important adversary left for him to conquer, he can be trusted—though doubtless not without centuries of travail and suffering—to find means of controlling the quantity of population, and eventually its quality too. The prospect of the next million years is not so bleak to the biologist as to the physicist.

ONE OF THE GREAT

POEMS OF C. P. CAVAFY, translated by John Mavrogordato (Grove; $3.25).

AT LONG LAST the Collected Poems of the greatest poet of modern Greece, and one of the great poets of the modern world, have been made available in English, last year in England, and this year in America. His friend, the novelist E. M. Forster, first published Kavafis in *The Nation and the Athenaeum* in 1923, and T. S. Eliot in the *Criterion* in 1928. Since Kavafis is almost completely unknown in America, it would not be remiss here to tell something about his life and character, which by now have taken on mythical proportion. In Greece, at least, he has long been the object of sharp partisan controversy, vilified and deified, mostly for the wrong reasons.

Constantine Kavafis (the form Cavafy is the genitive case in Greek used on all books, but improper in English), was born in Alexandria, Egypt, on April 17, 1863, and died of cancer of the throat in the same city on April 29, 1933. His father was in the export-import trade in Alexandria, but his mother came from the autocratic Phanariot section of Constantinople. On his father's death he was taken to Liverpool when he was thirteen, and lived there for some three years. After a brief return to Alexandria, he lived in Constantinople for about three and a half years, during the formative period of his adolescence and early youth. When he was 34, he made a short trip of about three months to Paris and London; four years later he made a first short trip to Athens, which he never saw again except a year before his death.

Although he began to write during his adolescence in Constantinople, Kavafis had published only 37 poems and ten essays by the time he was 37, in 1900. For a period of five years, between the ages of 23 to 28, he published nothing at all, and in one period wrote about 70 poems a year, although he published only four or five of them a year, and destroyed the rest. When he was 41, he published his first book, a slim volume of 14 poems, privately printed and not for sale; five years later he re-issued it with an addition of only seven poems. During the rest of his life he refused to issue another book, publishing each poem separately on broadsheets which he would distribute only to deserving friends. Often he would resort to the most elaborate ruses to have the broadsheets returned if he thought the friend had proved to be in some way unfaithful. He lived for most of his adult life at 10 Rue Lepsius amid dimly-lit rooms filled with Arabian furniture, ornate petrol lamps and candles. He would honor an especially beautiful guest by lighting another candle, taking care to remain in the shadows himself.

There are two important books in Greek about Kavafis' life and work, that by Timos Malânos in two volumes published in Alexandria in 1943, and that by Michael Perídis published in Athens in 1948; both of these writers were close friends of the poet. Malanos' book contains the greater perception, but is nonetheless a highly personalized and prejudiced account which turns upon the revelation and diagnosis of Kavafis as a homosexual. Peridis is factual and unimaginative, and makes a valuable contribution which other scholars must follow by dividing the 154 poems in three rather clearly defined groups: 46 erotic, 41 philosophic, and 67 historical poems. It is true that the homosexuality of Kavafis gives a certain tone and coloring to all his work. Only about a fourth of his erotic poems rank among his greatest work, yet they are integrally important because they are, to my knowledge, the only poems which depict the lusts, guilts, anxieties, and nostalgic satisfactions of an illicit love without sentimentality.

But it is in his contemplative and historical poems that Kavafis attains his true stature. *Waiting for the Barbarians* is deeply moving to those who understand the secret temptation in the hearts of free men to cast off their responsibilities and yield themselves to directing power. The poem tells of the Senators, the Praetors, the Consuls, and the Emperor decked out in their finery, abjectly preparing to hand over their civilization to what they consider to be the invincible Barbarians. But a report comes from the frontier that "There are no Barbarians any more," and the poem concludes: "And now what will become of us with-

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out Barbarians?—/ Those people were some sort of a solution." In *Ithaka* we are told that it is not the arrival, but the journey of adventures and experiences that matters: the grapple with the Laestrygones, the Cyclopes, and angry Poseidon, or with the Phoenician trading station, the perfumes and jewels: "Ithaka has given you your lovely journey./ Without Ithaka you would not have set out./ Ithaka has no more to give you now." Kavafis often said that if he were not a poet he would have been a historian. Most of his poems, even the erotic and contemplative ones, are set not in Classic times, but in Hellenistic, Greco-Roman, or Byzantine ages. His interest lies not in world-shaking events but in human frailties attending upon them. His heroes often show courage and character, but more often frailty, egotism, opportunism, which Kavafis depicts with sympathy and understanding. The poems are neither emotional nor lyrical, but dramatic, narrative, objective, realistic, a recounting of facts and episodes with subtlety and irony in a tone of voice which is dry, precise, deliberately prosaic, and, above all, ironic. They belong to the tradition of Greek epigrams of the fourth century B.C. and afterwards, to those of Simonides, Callimachus, Appolonious of Rhodes, to the polished verse of Alexandrine and Byzantine intellectuals. Although his language and syntax is based on the demotic tongue of the educated modern Greek, it is heavily weighted with words and turns of expression or grammar borrowed from the entire tradition of the Greek language since classical times: from Hellenistic, Medieval, Byzantine, Alexandrine, and Church Greek. This is, of course, impossible to reproduce in translation, as impossible almost as the diction of Hopkins, but what does remain is the dry line or situation evocative of great irony. Professor John Mavrogordato, formerly of Oxford, does not pretend to more than a literalness in his translations, and we should be thankful that our first translation is at least a scholastic and accurate one, though it is, unfortunately, unpoetic and graceless. But accuracy alone is almost enough to convince the English reader of Kavafis' poetic greatness.

KIMON FRIAR

AWAITING DEFINITION

CHARLES DICKENS, by Edgar Johnson, two volumes (Simon and Schuster; $10).

HERE, FINALLY, is the heralded book that collects all the documented facts about Dickens and arranges them in a kind of biography. It is not so much a poor book (it is useful) as an outrageous book. Given what we know about the dynamics of personality, it is not admissible for a biographer to psychologize as Edgar Johnson does, and with such indifference for the essential.

> What these four years of loving Maria Beadnell had done for Dickens and done to him, he himself . . . came partly to understand. . . . Not of course that he would never have had these qualities save for her, but she vitally influenced the form they assumed. His intense capacity for suffering, and for feeling with suffering . . . his misery over her made still more sharply a part of him.

But *why* did this continue for four years? What, for instance, was Dickens' sex-life during those years (age 18-21)? Presumably a biographer cannot document such matters; then he might decline to speculate and underscore the lacunae; instead Johnson speculates absurdities, for obviously the pride, humiliation, guilt, and self-thwarting of the youth are the conditions of such an affair and not the effects of it. Indeed, what Johnson does throughout this book is to take Dickens' self-interpretations as explanations. Like Edmund Wilson he makes a great to-do over the childhood "trauma of the blacking-warehouse." There is no doubt that this period was a crucial one for the boy (age 12); but there is also no doubt that Dickens' recollection is a screen-memory, and the question must be what it is screening. To get at this it would be necessary to speculate, but a controlled speculation might get us near Dickens, whereas gullibility gives us one more bathetic fiction. He was too great a man for such treatment.

Dickens came from a numerous family; we learn next to nothing about his siblings until, when all are grown, there are a series of uncommonly unfortunate relations. His adult relations to his father were very odd; no attempt is made to show how it came to be thus and what it meant; and almost, as this biography is written, it is as though he never had a mother. The biographer is quick to use "autobiographical" passages from the novels, but there is never a critical, or contextual use of such passages. In brief, as a *life* of Dickens this book sounds as if it were written for *Life* magazine; it is full of zest and "objective" detail, and explains nothing. It will make a hit.

As the account of an *author's* life it is equally feeble. We learn nothing about the workaday of that fabulous creativity: the stretches at a sitting, the revision, the manuscript, the secretiveness or talking-about-it, the behavior during the insoluble problems, or the creative flash. One would imagine that Johnson had never met an artist. He spends many pages on Dickens' difficulties with a publisher and his welshing on a contract without sensing the agony of a temporary "writer's block." And thus very little effort is made to get at the meaning of the authorship to the author. The long chapters of criticism are devoted entirely to the social content and to traces of Dickens' personal life in his books; there is no inkling that the works *are* in a special sense his life, are focusing and somewhat solving his problems, and enabling him to get on. There is no history of the style, and indeed no textural analysis of the rhythm, image, diction, and syntax, the things that reveal character. The biographer understands that Dickens' acting and readings were crucial and problematical, yet he makes no effort to contrast the life-meanings of the acting and writing. We learn in enormous detail that we are dealing with an astonishingly *successful* author, but hardly at all that we are dealing with an author.

The specialty of this book is its thorough exposition of Dickens' social opinions; and this is very good. Johnson makes excellently clear the extent, the subtilety, and the profundity of Dickens' defection; and he proves its development. Unfortunately he fails to see that this raises the key biographical question and should have been the great

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problem with regard both to Dickens' personality and his role. He quotes Bernard Shaw: "*Little Dorrit* is a more seditious book than *Das Kapital*. All over Europe men and women are in prison for pamphlets and speeches which are to *Little Dorrit* as red pepper to dynamite." Yes; and no! For they *mean* it, and in an important sense Dickens did not "mean" it. He looks squarely at starvation, yet in his dealings he writes of "the paltry miserable sum of £600"—the issue is not whether or not he should enrich himself, but what kind of integration he makes of the dilemma. He wants to run a radical newspaper that will unseat the powers that be, yet he gloatingly proclaims that the great railroad-magnate is with them. He is opposed to religious ritual, yet he makes a big deal of the god-fathers of his children. He speaks against the war, he understands the nature of the bourgeois system; yet he hangs out the flag for Albert, he seeks a naval commission for his son, he observes anxious niceties about appearing before the Queen. He knows the prisons and the causes of crime, but he wants to devise "deterrent" punishments. He expresses libertine sentiments and praisies the Parisian honesty on sex against the hypocrisy that is ruining English art, yet he defends himself like a crazed man against innuendoes about himself and he keeps his own books, like his life, pure of any honesty in this area.

It is these ambivalences, I say, that will make the biography of Dickens when some one comes to write it. For it is by exploring them that we can see what it means to be a great public artist like Dickens. For such an artist must, like any artist, touch and release the forbidden contents; yet he must also, to become enormously popular, alleviate anxiety by somehow making it clear that it is not "meant," it is not a crisis of existence. And all the better if he can flatter the reader's moral self by propaganda while he stirs up his masochism and sadism with sentiment and violence. That is, the problem of a biography of Dickens is to make clear how, in this astonishing case, a great artist is a great public artist. PAUL GOODMAN

SOME NEW SINGERS

RECENTLY, the Metropolitan Opera revived a production of *Don Giovanni* which would have been a routine affair if it had not been for its unusual cast. Although the opera was sung in Italian, almost all of the singers were American, and most of them were young. As a demonstration of the high standard of singing that the Metropolitan is slowly re-establishing, the performance was most encouraging.

The role of Donna Anna was sung by Margaret Harshaw, a young woman who has already developed a considerable following in New York, although she has only been singing major roles for a short time. Harshaw, an ex-contralto who has blossomed into a soprano, has one of the most beautiful voices we have ever heard. Every note in her huge range is perfect, luminous and golden. Her pianissimo has a penetrating warmth and power, yet she is clearly audible above the loudest Wagnerian climax, and her singing is so disciplined that it seems effortless.

Last season, when Harshaw sang her first Brunhilde, everyone realized that something extraordinary had happened, that a Wagnerian soprano great enough to take Flagstad's place had suddenly appeared. At the time, it looked as if Harshaw would spend the rest of her career singing Wagner. Apparently, Harshaw is too young and too good to be willing to settle for this limitation; her appearance as Donna Anna proved her versatility. She was at her best in the more sustained arias, but the rapid, ornate, highly colored passages seemed to give her some trouble. I have no doubt that she can develop the necessary light, coloratura style required in such roles. Magnificent as she is, she hasn't done this yet, and it will be curious to see if she can.

George London, the Don Giovanni of this performance, is already perfect for the part. Like Harshaw, his range is large, and all of it is impeccable. His understanding of Mozart must have come from a most exhaustive study, unless his musical instincts are so superb that this was not necessary. London's sensitivity to the subtleties and remote implications of a Mozartian role is rare, and his ability to subordinate himself to the composer's intention is almost unknown. In addition to his purely musical virtues, London looks like Don Giovanni and is a fairly credible actor. I don't know how all these good qualities can be present in a single prize package, but, in this instance, they are. London is an unbelievably gifted and accomplished man and the Metropolitan is lucky to have him.

Genevieve Warner, the Zerlina of this production, performed a miracle in the projection of that usually objectionable character. Ingenue roles are difficult to sing; most Zerlinas have a tendency to make themselves coy and oafish as well as ingenuous. Miss Warner managed to be completely charming and lovely, and she sang like an angel. Her voice is light enough to dispatch Mozartian intricacies with the greatest ease, but strong enough to fill that theatre.

Aside from the excellence of singing and the still incredible improvement of the Metropolitan orchestra, the production was not satisfactory. It will be a long time before Rudolph Bing is able to raise the standard of the whole Metropolitan season, I suppose, but such revivals as this continue to be embarrassingly bad. It would be hard to imagine anything further from the classical spirit than this production, with its ugly decor and its meaningless spectacular effects. The acting, such as it was, consisted mainly of an endless sequence of contrived gestures, furious running around, and generally bufoonery. The fact that London and Miss Warner were able to rise above the directing at times did not help very much.

Observing its traditional privilege, the audience frequently interrupted the opera to applaud individual singers, who dropped out of character to acknowledge the squeals of delight. If operas which, like *Giovanni*, consist of numbered pieces, are ever going to become effective as theatre, this kind of senseless interruption will have to go. Perhaps a good, idiomatic English translation, which would make an American audience more aware of the dramatic part of opera, would help. ROBERT EVETT

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A WORLD OF ORDER

THE DESCENT FROM the third to the first floor of the Museum of Modern Art might seem like the longest journey in the world. Upstairs the Fauve show continues; the galleries vibrate to the colors and vehement forms of the Parisian painters. In contrast, the recently installed exhibition of the group of artists (mainly Dutch) known as de Stijl draws us into a world of severe order. Little more than ten years separate them, but these were the crucial years which saw the development of Cubism.

In their attempt to extend the possibilities of art and to free the artist from various dead traditions, both groups were inherently criticisms of the past. The artists moved comparatively slowly through a process of refined analysis which attempted to disentangle the essential elements at the heart of the plastic arts. In the sense that this effort was a critical one it was related to those fundamental revaluations which were going on at the same time in philosophy, logic, literature and the other arts.

The importance of de Stijl finally rests in the thoroughness and apparent rationality of its search for these fundamentals. At its most simple, though this gives no sense of the variety with which they can be used, the three elements which are at the base of the work of de Stijl are the rectangle, the primary colors (red, blue and yellow plus black and white) and the compositional prinple of asymmetric balance. These can be used in painting, sculpture, architecture and the related arts of design.

The fewness and simplicity of these principles provided a formula which could be easily grasped. They seemed to provide an aesthetic program which could focus the efforts of many of the artistic movements which rose in Europe after the World War. Architects, in particular, were receptive to a general theory of art which could join them once again to the painters and the sculptors. And the work of de Stijl was not only appropriate to the new methods of construction, but it suggested a way out of the senseless repetition of old forms which had deadened the cities during the nineteenth century. The association of Theo van Doesburg with such architects as Gropius and van der Rohe has indirectly transformed our landscape.

The current exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art was sent to this country by the Dutch Government. It is heralded as the first historical survey of the Stijl movement to appear in this country and gives a clear, if very brief, account of the work of the group from about 1915 through the twenties. Like most exhibitions which are circulated under government auspices for what is now pleasantly called information purposes, this one lacks real depth. Except for a few indications which the Museum itself has added to show the roots of the movement and an abbreviated coda which barely hints at the real influence it has had, the core of the show is limited to the work of the members of de Stijl alone. Perhaps this was all that was necessary. If I understood the comments of the crowds, the exhibition seemed to fix for them the main source of the scattered impressions which they have of contemporary architecture, advertising display, furniture design, etc. As this show circulates about the country, however, museums might well use the occasion to present a more extensive survey.

Unfortunately, the purpose of the exhibition leads one to think of history and influences without directing attention to the full achievements of the members of de Stijl. Something of the grandeur and intensity of their art comes across in the large photomural of Frederick Kiesler's *City in Space* and in the bold projection of a design for a house done by van Doesburg and the architect van Eesteren. But the examples of sculpture by Vantongerloo and the various architectural models and photographs of the work of Rietveld, Schroder and Oud are slight indications of their full talents. The painters come off slightly better. There are canvasses by Mondrian, van Doesburg, van der Leck and several others, but few which can really resist the didactic intent of the show.

A few steps away, however, in the main collection of the Museum, there are several late paintings of Piet Mondrian. These can stand as a summation of the powers which de Stijl touched upon.

KERMIT LANSNER

ACTING AND RECITING

by Eric Bentley

PRAISING the Drama Quartet, people are saying how nice it is to do without scenery. I do not share their implied disdain for stage design, but I am not surprised at it. What surprises me is the assumption that, when a play is read to us, nothing is missing but decor. Or does the fact that readers use gesture make them actors?

You can say yes to this, and cite authorities. Dr. Johnson wrote that we go to the theatre to "hear a certain number of lines recited with just gesture and elegant modulation." Dryden seems not to have demanded much more: "All passions may be lively represented on the stage if to the well-writing of them the actor supplies a good commanded voice and limbs that move easily and without stiffness." And when Johnson says: "A dramatic exhibition is a book recited with concomitants that increase or diminish its effect," we know where we are. This is the notorious "literary" view of theatre, bluntly restated by a Shakespearean scholar only the other day: "In the theatre, as in the study, the poet's words are all that count." Of more interest than the untruth of this statement (whatever can be so flatly asserted can, I presume, be as flatly denied) is its motivation and background: it has its origin in the study of a theatre where the words did in fact play a much larger role. Of this theatre Bernard Shaw once wrote: "In Shakespeare's time the acting of plays was imperfectly differentiated from the declamation of verses; and description or narrative recitation did what is now done by scenery, furniture, and stage business." Anxious to restore the long speech, and the "rhetorical" way of delivering it, Shaw preferred what he thought of as the older method to the newer. And his special perspective gave him special insights: his insistence that Shakespeare's lines not be broken by "business" is still needed today. But as usual—one should rather say, on principle—Shaw overstates the case. A fair amount of "business" is to be inferred from Elizabethan scripts, and the scantiness of stage directions cannot be taken to mean that the Elizabethans did not

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insert "business" even where the scripts do not imply it. Nor was the Elizabethan stage as bare of furniture and scenery as scholars in Shaw's early days used to think. As for acting, we know nothing, really, of the style which Alleyn or Burbage practiced, but the praise accorded the men in the roles we know they played certainly suggests that they did much more (for example, with *character)* than a mere reader would. And this is to speak of tragic acting only. The comedians, we know, were acrobats and dancers; speaking was but one of their several accomplishments. (The wary Dr. Johnson admits that the "literary" view of the stage is inapplicable to comedy: "Familiar comedy is often more powerful in the theatre, than on the page.") To these empirical remarks, I would even venture to add a syllogism: all good acting has more to it than recitation, Alleyn and Burbage were good actors, therefore Alleyn and Burbage did more than recite.

The man who best helps us to see this is Constantin Stanislavsky. Many think of him primarily as the bringer of the new style—the style that works with scenery, furniture, and stage business, rather than with language; for a time, undeniably, a particular form of this style—naturalism—*was* what he stood for. What he stands for in the long run, however, will not be this style or any other. It will be his approach to acting —in any style. It will be what he has to teach *anyone* who wishes to act. He understood the minimum requirements of good acting, one of which is to put words in their place. The "place" of words is in the mouth of the speaker—and, beyond the mouth, in his body and mind. A stage director has to "sink" his author's words into the actors, and then help the actors to hoist them out again. In short, words are, for the actor, not statements but response to stimuli, like gestures. We, the spectators, should not have the words simply handed to us—we should see them springing from a situation, from a character, from a query, a blow, or a snort. A minimum requirement for an actor is that he enables us to see them in this way. William Gillette called this feat: giving "the illusion of the first time." I am not happy with this phrase, for it seems to me that much more is involved and that an actor should on occasion give the impression that a thing *has* been said before. But that the "gesture" of real speech is always necessary is certainly true. And with it goes gesture in the literal sense. Describing gesture as a "concomitant" of "recitation" may be accurate enough from an outsider's viewpoint, but anyone who learnt to act would, I think, have to approach it differently. Stanislavsky said this when it much needed saying. Actors, and teachers who have made actors, must surely have known it at all times. For the actor, it is more practical to consider the "book" as the "concomitant" and the "gesture" as the main thing, if we can, a little, stretch the meaning of the word "gesture" to include "posture," and the word "posture" to include the posture of the mind as well as the body. That we have to stretch the meaning of our terms is of course no accident. The art of theatre is poor in precise terminology; that must be one reason for confusion. But it surely makes sense to differentiate between the working actor's attitude to words and the spectator's. For the latter, the words will be predominant—if the play is of the type where words do predominate. But, even with such a play, the words must become secondary for the actor as he works. He must subordinate them to the context from which they spring, or they will never gain the importance which their author wishes them to have.

Another element of confusion comes in because reciting is not the opposite of acting, it is half-way to acting. The Drama Quartet half-acted their play. Radio actors half-act their plays (as anyone knows who has watched them in the studio). Now half-acting is only successful when practiced by whole actors: what enables Charles Laughton to portray Shaw's devil is not his practice in reciting but his practice in acting. A generation trained in reciting would not even recite well. It is therefore a mistake to regard the method of the Drama Quartet as a solution to our principal problems. We can settle for nothing less than acting, as it was, is, and ever shall be.

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Two-Day Conference and Forum

DURING NATIONAL YOUTH WEEK ON JANUARY 30 AND 31, 1953

THE BILL OF RIGHTS—SUBLIME RISK OF FREE MEN

Wars and emergencies have always been acid tests for democracies. Unfortunately we now face the prospect of endless emergencies. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee agrees with President-elect Eisenhower that all our problems can be solved within the framework of our Constitution but we hold that they will be so solved only if the people actively insist on their traditional rights.

It is to meet the challenge of our generation, so nobly stated by Judge Learned Hand, that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has been organized. The Committee now calls liberty-loving Americans to attend a conference in New York on January 30th and 31st, 1953.

The Conference will re-emphasize the importance of the Bill of Rights in our society. Distinguished speakers will recommend ways of regaining the full protection of individual liberty guaranteed in our Constitution. The Conference will also draft a petition of grievances to be presented, in accordance with the First Amendment, to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Attorney-General and the Congress.

"Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light."

PROGRAM

FRIDAY EVENING, JANUARY 30, 8:30 P. M., AT CARNEGIE HALL

"The First Ten Amendments"..... Dramatization
"The Bill of Rights"..... Musical Number
"The Bill of Rights in American History"..... An Address

SATURDAY MORNING, JANUARY 31, 10-12 Noon.

Forums at the First Presbyterian Church, 12 W. 12th St., N.Y.C.

FORUM I—*Academic Freedom*
Report on current infringements of academic freedom.
Who is behind the attacks on public schools?
What can we do to maintain freedom in education?
Participants: Prof. Derk Bodde, Dr. Scott Buchanan, Prof. Robert S. Cohen, Prof. H. H. Wilson.

FORUM II—*Freedom of the Arts*
Current limitations on the arts.
Cultural cost of censorship and blacklisting.
What can be done to restore freedom in the arts?
Participants: Matthew Josephson, Author; Merle Miller, Author; Ben Shahn, Artist.

FORUM III—*The Political Use of Fear*
The psychological explanation.
Current curbs on our freedom.
What we can do to hold our constitutional rights.
Participants: Rev. Malcolm R. Evans, Carey McWilliams, Editor; Canon Robert D. Smith, I. F. Stone, Author; Dr. Lawrence J. Roose, Psychiatrist.

FORUM IV—*Loyalty and the Fifth Amendment*
Loyalty tests in government service, unions, professions and private enterprise.
The Fifth Amendment as a protection for the innocent.
Participants: Judge Hubert Delany, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, Educator.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 31, 12 Noon to 1:30 P.M. — Buffet Lunch

1:30 P.M.—GENERAL SESSION—*What We Can Do to Uphold the Bill of Rights*
Religious and moral foundations for the Bill of Rights.
Religious and moral necessity for freedom of conscience.
Constitutional limits to Congressional inquiry.
Organized expression of support for the Bill of Rights.
Participants: Rev. Prof. Paul L. Lehmann, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect; Walter White.

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